/5 cont./

843

1. Pineda Giraldo, Roberto.
Aspectos de la magia en la Guajira
/Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/,
Revista del Instituto Etnológico
Nac., Vol. III, No. 1, 1947.
Bogotá, 1950.

943 734 For example, the mother must not eat food that has been tasted by an animal, for if she does her child will develop stomach trouble and will perform its natural functions in the manner of that animal; neither the man nor the woman should watch a snake in its hole nor should the man kill it, because if he does the mother's labor will be long and difficult. The mother-to-be should never attend a primary or secondary burial nor the man dig a grave, as this also may bring on a long and difficult delivery in addition to the child's suffering serious illness, etc.

843 During the period of pregnancy, the husband avoids irritating his wife and satisfies her wishes or desires, because otherwise his child may be born, for example, with a marked expression of anxiety on his face. However much she should contradict him, he should not make use of his authority or beat her, in deference to her condition and also because such conduct would bring grave consequence, for should the wife lose her child through ill-treatment, the responsibility would fall on him and his assets, and he would have to make payment to his wife in compensation for the injury caused. However, there are Guajiro who beat their wives when they are with child, when they know them to be of such low social standing that their relatives will not have sufficient power to assert their rights.

The Guajiro believes that certain actions which influence the psyche of the pregnant woman will have a physical repercussion on the coming infant. This is one of the reasons why the husband takes care to safeguard his wife and please her, avoiding causing her annoyance, scolding her, or ill-treating her. However, among these beliefs there are some which serve to solve satisfactorily certain problems which may arise from the breaking

/6 cont./

843 They are normal although extremely small and undernourished. As the months pass, such an infant gradually recovers from the prenatal treatment and toward the end of the third year reaches normal size and acquires the usual physical characteristics of a child of ordinary type.

The Guajiro mother does not like to adopt this treatment, but she will make use of it when in previous cases she has had a difficult delivery. She is proud of the large size and robustness of her children, and it is a cause of pleasure to her when they [262] are admired. It is more usual for her to employ another group of practices, dietetic ones, such as those which advise abstaining from eating cheese, butter at meals, or fat meat, adding milk to corn mazamorra, and drinking large quantities of water daily before eating, during the entire pregnancy, in order to prevent the too active growth of the fetus and to have, as a result, a less difficult delivery.

The practices we have been describing are also recommended to keep the woman from developing to an exaggerated size which would hinder her movements both in carrying out her domestic duties and in the long distances she has to walk.

843 During the final months of pregnancy, she abstains from ●784 sexual relations, both by her own wish and that of her husband, in the belief that /7/ they would cause the child to be born [834] sickly and the delivery to be prolonged, possibilities which are their main concern and the avoidance of which justifies the practice of any treatment that prevents them. Also, during the final months of her pregnancy, the woman is prohibited, within practical limits, from lifting heavy things, carrying water from wells and loads of seeds, carting firewood, or loading burros. But only women of outstanding economic position who have female bond servants and slaves to carry out such chores are able to observe these precautions. It is not rare, therefore, to find that the Guajiro woman is obliged to do her daily work to the detriment of her condition, for after one of these exertions, a woman is liable to suffer an immediate miscarriage.

/52 cont./

881 will mean serious troubles for her family, since the noncompliance with social norms will bring the consequences of her illegal behavior on the family group. In addition she will be lacking in responsibility and will perform badly her role as sister, wife, and mother, just the functions for which she is preparing, and these two factors weigh very much in the life of the Guajiro woman as a member of society. The charms properly applied so that they transmit their power will assure her married happiness: She will not find herself exposed to the problems of polygamy, which imply lack of affection and ill-treatment from the man who buys her for his wife, and in this way she will have the longed-for predominance over him and over the co-wives, who in consequence will take a secondary place by the force of her personality.

881 Once inside the hammock she must not move nor change her original position, because it is believed that /should she 784 do so/, on being brought down later, she will have one leg longer than the other. Neither may she scratch any part of her body because that will leave visible scars. This matter is very important as the ceremony of the seclusion transforms her physically from a girl to a woman, wholly bound to the canon of beauty held by her group, an aspect, which like the others will also greatly affect her adult life. One must also 826 take into account that in La Guajira a physical defect has 578 a powerful influence on the individual and to mention it is equivalent to an insult which will give rise to resentment on the part of the adult and could bring sinister consequences upon the offender.

Neither should the initiate spit on the floor, because by doing so her honor will be slandered in her unmarried life as well as later after marriage, as they would say of her, judging by appearances or through unfounded malevolence, that she had dealings with a man. They will say she is a "madcap" /cabeza-loco/, a nickname they give to a woman of easy virtue and which causes discord between men and women and which will deeply affect her legitimate hopes for marriage.

/53/

881 While the girl is in the hammock, friends and relatives
292 keep arriving in large numbers, announced by the family, especially when welcoming well-to-do people, and then they start preparations for the feast: preparation of beverages and slaughtering of animals. All the consanguineous relatives contribute their share and foregather to join in what is called the chichamaya dance, during which are passed around large quantities of rum for the men, chicha for the women, and meat for all the participants. The guests turn up dressed in their best dress-up clothes: the men with their wide festival belts, their finest robes, their headbands (kiára) with the crest of feathers, or lacking such, hats adorned with feathers. The women /wear/ robes of brilliant colors, plenty of jewelry, very long shawls which hang down their backs nearly to the ground, sandals with
[302] large, brightly colored tassels, and, above all, facial painting, preferably red, very carefully applied. On these occasions they dance through the night, the following morning, and the afternoon, and in this latter part of the day they may hold horse races on which large bets are wagered.

881 When the prescribed number of days are over, during
●784 which the girl has not satisfied any of her body needs, not having taken any food during that time, according to what they say, her relatives unsling the hammock in the early hours of dawn and the girl descends, faint with hunger. The first food she receives is a drink of bija /achiote/ dissolved in water. Presently, little by little, they add to her diet thin corn mazamorra without milk or salt, and later a little milk and
[262] meat. She must not, for example, eat any animal udder, because by doing so she would age prematurely and her face would be lined with wrinkles, deep and numerous, like that food.

881 The girl is bathed with four earthen jugs of water which
832 have been previously left exposed to the evening dew, as this gives it a special quality for whitening, which is important for the high appreciation both men and women have for a

/55 cont./

881 Also, she has to acquire full knowledge of domestic duties: how to prepare special dishes as well as the ordinary ones; the norms of hospitality toward her friends and those of her husband, and toward him especially; what in her married life she is allowed to do; the consequences of her conduct in married life; /56/ the problems of polygamy and the way to face them; her role as administrator of the home; feminine life as such; the sexual act; notions on fertility, pregnancy, and prohibitons when in this condition; legal obligations that her husband should comply with; giving birth; diet, etc; her role within the family as intermediary-regulator of relations between her people on the one hand and the husband and his relatives on the other, her co-wives and the children of these if they live a life in common, etc. She likewise learns the past history of her group with all its eminent members and their deeds, its economic position, its status, etc., all of which will show her how to identify herself with them and acquire the affectionate contacts which the consanguineous tie imposes.

881 784 A special condition during her seclusion is the isolation of the girl from all the male members of the house and from those who come to visit. She is not allowed to see them or to be visited by them. No man is permitted to enter her room so that it is redundant to state that she is prohibited from all sexual relations. So much is this so that it has occurred (in areas where there is little or no contact with whites, where the poor Indian woman is at the mercy of the abuses of the rich) that girls during their seclusion have been violated by a powerful Indian, and her parents have terminated the seclusion and made the man pay (if they can muster enough backing) for the abuse committed but not for the possible pregnancy, as they do not believe that this will happen if the girl has been properly cared for. If a man should enter her temporary lodging, she is expected to hide herself and not look at him.

Lastly, she must observe the custom of speaking softly to the woman who is caring for her and to her female visitors, and of speaking little and not laughing stridently.

[43 cont.]

755 of the same – the bone which is left to dry and then cooked –
764 which also participates in its power, because in the primitive
778 mentality the part is accepted as the whole, or at least shares in the power of the whole, even at a distance.

556 Another meaning that the sacrifice of animals has is that
436 related to the status of the individual in his other life. One of
437 the points of reference of status in La Guajira is wealth, which is nearly always equivalent to the possession of a larger or lesser number of heads of livestock. Livestock represents, in certain aspects, Guajiro currency, since interchanges, blood payments, etc., are always based on a definite number of heads of livestock, besides of course necklaces of tuma, gold, etc.

556 Naturally, if an individual occupies a certain social posi-
764 tion in life, it is logical that when he goes to the other life, to
775 the world of the dead, he occupies an identical position or tries to better the one he had in life. This, then, is one of the reasons why certain of his possessions are placed near or in his tomb, and to complete his "equipment" for the next world, a number of animals are sacrificed, the higher his position in society the greater the number, so that these may give him the desired social position in the world of the spirits.

764 The association, then, is easy to establish: If the individ-
775 ual in dying passes to a new life similar to the one he led on
825 earth, then the animal, a living being with a soul like the man, on dying must also pass on to occupy a place in the other world. This, of course, is only our own supposition. But we find no other explanation of the Guajiro statement that the animals should be sacrificed so that they can accompany their owner to the other world and give him an advantageous position among the other spirits.

764 The sacrifice implies above all an act of magic. The fact
● 784 that the dead man's close relatives must not eat the meat of the
778 sacrificed animals, because it would be like eating the flesh of their relative himself, establishes the relation between the owner and his property in the sense that the latter shares his personality. And as the dead man is sacred, or at least taboo, that is, sacred in the sense of being untouchable, so also are the things that he owned; the animals – which are [44] to accompany

[44 cont.]
him on his journey and which remain his only possessions, since the rest will be distributed among his heirs — take on the quality of untouchables.

2. The poisoned arrow. The second sacrifice about which we gathered information has a greater importance than the previous one for two reasons: first, because it is the sacrifice of a human being, and second, because it is linked to a series of ceremonies set in motion to obtain a certain end, the deadly power of the imára, or poisoned arrow, or better said, the magic arrow.

This sacrifice, so far as we could observe, is no longer practiced in La Guajira. According to the information gathered, it was practiced exclusively by the Kusina Indians, inhabitants of the sierra of that name. They were bellicose Indians, warriors, robbers, and animal stealers, who kept the other communities of the peninsula in an incessant state of tension by their attacks and evil-doings. We think it interesting to point out here that these Indians, commonly known as Cocina, according to all the information obtained did not constitute in themselves a separate cultural group. Their language was the same as that of the other Guajiro; their customs were relatively the same, and their physical type identical. Everything seems to indicate that they were no more than social outcasts, all those who, for crimes committed and not paid for in accordance with established laws, had found it necessary to unite themselves into societies outside the law. The question is not entirely clear, and it will be difficult to make it so because Kusina Indians are no longer found in La Guajira.

Bows and arrows stood out among the arms used by the Guajiro, (We say "stood" out because now they chiefly use rifles of foreign make). One of these arrows, which they call poisoned, bears the name of imára. The shaft of this arrow is made of a thin piece of wood taken from the tree called parára and measures approximately 80 centimeters in length. At the upper end of this sharpened shaft is placed poison of a ray or the bone of a poisonous serpent. This imára is what the Kusina Indians used as a last resort in their battles with Whites or with

[59 cont.]

843 845 A pregnant woman should never be present at or watch a burial, for if she does so, she will have a difficult childbirth: the infant's arrival will be delayed in a manner both painful and difficult for the mother.

755 758 784 Anyone who may have touched the corpse of a person whose death has not been natural – who has been murdered, for example – is prohibited from approaching the side of one who is sick, because this individual will die because of his presence. This prohibition is also extended to those who have directly assisted in the exhumation of human remains. Furthermore, both of these persons are strictly forbidden to come near [753] children [60] or places where they may be, because their presence, contaminated by the nature of the dead, will cause the children to fall ill.

843 825 Serpents also have magic influence on pregnant women. In this case it is not an influence destined to injure the unborn child but is directed against the mother herself, who feels in various ways in her own flesh the malignant action of the reptile. For instance, if a woman during her term of pregnancy sees a hunting snake [culebra cazadora] and remains looking at it for some time, her child will be born stupid. The explanation that the Indians give for this very generally accepted belief is that as this snake gives the impression of being stupid, because it does not attack people as other snakes do and does them no harm but confines itself to hunting young birds for food, it transmits this quality to the infant. A mother who encounters such a reptile should pretend not to have seen it and automatically look elsewhere.

825 843 845 If during this same period the mother-to-be should see any kind of snake (other than a hunting snake) she will suffer a miscarriage or some kind of painful mishap related to the delivery. To avoid these possible ills, the woman should try to step over the snake. If in spite of this difficulties in childbirth occur, then they resort to a curing method which consists in finding a similar snake, killing it, opening it up carefully, and localizing in the interior of its intestines the water that it has drunk, collecting this and taking it to the sick woman, so that after she has drunk it, her labor will be hastened and will then occur without any serious complications.

[68 cont.]

714 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [69] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of preventative methods. In no way different are the 764 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhuma- 783 tions in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and 784 persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

751 This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 775 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in actual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

778 Francisco and I had several talks about the love cóntra.
839 He pointed out that it was important for the man or woman wishing to use such a talisman to powder certain parts of his or her body with red schiste powder. He gave me detailed instructions which I wrote down, as Francisco thought, in order to instruct Gladtvet, so that he should be ready, if he discovered a suitable object.

The women have love charms as well as the men. With a really effective one a woman can make sure of her husband's love for ever, or win back the love she has lost. When she intends to use such means, she must keep indoors and diet
[784] for four days and nights, not expose herself to the sun nor see another woman's face, and she must avoid all milk and anything roasted. She must bath indoors and powder herself. There is a talisman which the wise women of the Jararà Hills manufacture, a stuff of herbs wrapped in a piece of cloth, which prevents a husband from taking another woman.

778 Sometimes a woman will make a man fall in love with her
839 as an act of revenge. To do this she must get hold of one of
754 his old sandals or something he has worn. This she burns and resultant cóntra is introduced into the man's clothes or belongings. This often ends in the man becoming mad. A man can also avenge himself by making a girl fall in love with him, if he can manage to get some of her hair clippings. For that reason women hide these most carefully all their lives.

778 An Indian, when greatly attracted by a girl, will often
839 make the greatest sacrifices and undergo all sorts of difficulties to get her. Having succeeded, he will often go off quite soon with his herds to some other part of the peninsula. After that he is not heard of again, and his wife is left to support herself as best she can. That shows that she had attracted him by means of a cóntra which had been very effective, but that she had then been incautious enough to let it go from her, or it may have lost its power.

There are cóntras for other things than love, e.g., for luck in hunting and in war, to acquire wealth and reputation and to protect oneself against certain spirts or dangers.

8;Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exercised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband). Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable. There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters, is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.